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DICHOTOMOUS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

BY
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Since 1913 the writer has been engaged in a study of the social organization of the Indians of South Central California. The first product of this study, a report on the exogamous moieties of the Central Sierra Miwok, is now in press. Following the completion of this work, the writer set out to make a preliminary investigation of other tribes to determine the geographic limits of the moiety organization. This preliminary survey, which is to be followed by careful study of each group, has not been entirely completed to date. The following brief statements summarize the data obtained, especially with reference to tribes, which, like the Miwok, are organized on the basis of dual divisions.

The survey so far shows that the area in which moieties exist extends from Amador County in the north to Kings County in the south. In the southern counties the area extends from the eastern foothills of the Coast Range on the west to the high Sierra Nevada on the east, thus embracing both plains and mountain tribes. In the north moieties have been found only in the Sierra Nevada.

Aside from the Miwok, the tribes which have been visited are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi of Yokuts stock; and the North Fork Mono, the Inyo Mono, the Bridgeport Mono, the Tübatulabal, and the Kawaiisu of Shoshonean stock. Of these the Chukchansi live in Madera County north of the

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San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneans, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

The principal facts concerning social organization among the tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows:

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

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with that of the Inyo Mono and the Bridgeport Mono, who live east of the Sierra Nevada. These systems are characterized by a distinct term for each of the four grandparents; furthermore, the same term is applied by the grandparent to the grandchild. Cross-cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, hence in the generation of the speaker.

The names of the moieties among the Miwok are kikua, or water moiety, and tunuka, or land moiety. The three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) examined employ the names nutuwic (also given as nutuwuts) and toxelyuwic for their moieties. Like the Miwok moieties, the Yokuts moieties are exogamous. A child belongs to the moiety of the father. Among the North Fork Mono also descent is paternal, but there is no rule of exogamy. A child belongs to the clan and to the phratry of the father, and may marry within his own clan or not, as he chooses.

The names of the two phratries of the North Fork Mono are pakwihu and yayantci. The pakwihu phratry is subdivided into two clans, tübahinagatu and puzaots. The yayantci phratry is composed of the two clans dakats and kunugetci.

The arbitrary division of nature into two categories, "land" and "water", is a feature of the Central Sierra Miwok moiety complex. The land side of nature is associated with the land moiety, the water side of nature with the water moiety. The water moiety (kikua) of the Miwok finds its analogue in the nutuwic or nutuwuts moiety of the three Yokuts tribes mentioned, and the Miwok land moiety (tunuka) finds its analogue in the toxelyuwic moiety of the Yokuts tribes. Among the Yokuts tribes certain animals are associated with each moiety, but it has not been ascertained that the whole of nature is divided and associated with the moieties as among the Miwok. In the Miwok organization the connection between moiety and animal is through the personal name, each individual being named after an animate or inanimate object. The eponym, however, is not transmitted to the descendant as a rule. Among the Yokuts tribes and the North Fork Mono, where personal names are meaningless, the connection between animal and moiety or phratry is naturally not through the personal name.

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171 616 551 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem," which is inherited from the father, and seemsto have no connection with the personal name.

616 825 Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuts moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuts moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver.

171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

171 616 The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Ceremonial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

171 616 632 Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry, was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.

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Doubtless other tribes will prove to have a similar division of the chieftainship.

An organization, which will perhaps prove to be on a moiety basis, is reported by Dr. J. Alden Mason among the Salinan Indians of Monterey County. A bear and a deer "totem" are mentioned.[1] Among the Central Sierra Miwok the bear is the chief animal of the land moiety, the deer of the water moiety. It seems quite probable that a continuation of Dr. Mason's investigations among the Salinan will show that the bear and deer "totems" really stand for moieties, which may prove to be similar to those of the Tachi Yokuts, who were the closest neighbors of the Salinan on the east.

Mr. J. P. Harrington for some time past has been investigating the Chumash of the Santa Barbara region. The details of Chumash social organization will perhaps prove to be quite similar to those of the Yokuts tribes, mentioned in the present paper, who lived to the northeast of the Chumash region.

The next task is to extend the survey to the Washo and the Southern Maidu in the north and, if results among these stocks warrant it, also to the Southern Wintun. The examination of the Lake Miwok will perhaps prove instructive as to the origin of the moiety institution among the Sierra Miwok. The remnants of the Plains Miwok and of the Costanoan stock have so far yielded no positive results as to a clan or moiety organization. There are still other informants to be examined, however. In the south the Mono living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada south of the San Joaquin River have yet to be visited, as have also the other Yokuts tribes not already mentioned. Information obtained from the Tachi Yokuts indicates that at least the following Yokuts tribes inhabiting the San Joaquin Valley probably had an organization akin to that of the Tachi: Chunut, Nutunutu, Telamni, Wechikhit, and Wowol.

The elucidation of the relations between the type of social organization found in South Central California and the type of organization found among the Luiseño, the Mohave, and the Pima, all tribes possessing clans, is one of the ultimate aims of

[1] The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Eth., x, 189, 1912.

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the survey. Another equally important matter, to be clearly established, is the interrelations within the South Central California area itself. Although it is still too early to make a positive statement, yet it seems that the Miwok organization, judging from its simpler character, as compared with the Tachi[illegible] on the periphery of the moiety area, not only geographica[illegible]ut also in point of complexity. A consideration of the North Fork Mono complex conveys a similar impression. The absence of exogamy and the presence of a kinship system totally unlike that of the other groups having a dual organization seem to warrant the conclusion that the ceremonial features of the Yokuts and Miwok moieties have been borrowed, while the two social features, exogamy and kinship system, have not. It is therefore not unlikely that, in South Central California, the dichotomous social organization was primarily a valley institution, which spread to the mountains.

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